5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:324) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:236): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

Communication.—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (pron) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, loc.cit.; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. pron; Havestadt, 1883, 1:521, 2:755); and for other purposes.

Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from *Quechua*.

The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:288); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder parataxes or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bío-Bío River, very little is known.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Guiande lists

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

802 Beginners in school count from 1 to 10 by folding a finger into the palm of the hand at each number (a manner in which adults also count). If the count is beyond 10, it is usually continued on toes, a toe being bent under the foot at each number. A teacher, during her first days in a Boroa area school, said she wondered why a child was continually bending over. "I found she was doing her addition problems on her toes. Every time there was a number greater than 10, of course, she had to stoop." An Alepúe father said with pride, "My boy counts in his head now; he no longer needs an outside thing, like his fingers and toes, to do so." A Panguipulli couple past 60 had not heard of using toes in counting.

211 Informants knew of no method of keeping count "except remembering it in one's head." "I have never heard of Mapuche cutting notches in a stick or tying knots in a string or doing anything else to keep count. If anyone wanted to know anything which he could not recall, he asked other members of the family about it; someone would recall it, for if it had importance enough to be remembered, everybody in the family would have heard of it." Cooper notes that the knotted cord (quipu) was used to keep accounts of livestock and records of events; to indicate the number of days at the end of which summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab on the number of days in which work was done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of compensation for murder; and for other purposes (1946, p. 754).

MEASUREMENT OF TIME

● 805 The time of day is regulated by the sun (antü). Antü is a word used not only to mean sun but also to designate the span of time from sunrise to sunset. When outdoors, informants glanced or pointed at the sun when talking of time. A Cofiaripe woman pointed at various points at which the sun should be when a decoction she was telling about should be given to a fever-stricken person. Another woman being interviewed in her yard looked at the sun, and said, "It is nearly midday [11:40 a.m.]." Soon her husband and children returned from the harvest fields. The smaller children peeked into the kettle, in which their older sister was preparing the midday meal, and said, "Hurry! Hurry! The sun is already overhead." At about 1 o'clock, when passing through the same yard, the woman teasingly remarked, as she glanced toward the sun, "If you do not get home soon, there will be no dinner left for you!" Nearly every family, too, had a particular place outdoors, maybe the corner of the ruka or a fence post near

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

the ruka ("everybody knows the place") "where when the sun strikes it, we know it is a certain time of day." 805

When indoors, time was told by the location of sunrays at a given spot within the ruka. "In spite of the fact that there is no clock in any home of the 59 children in this school," noted a non-Araucanian teacher, "a child is seldom late to school. The children of one of the families unfailingly arrive just five minutes before the opening." During a visit in the ruka of these children, the writer complimented the mother on this. Promptly the 10-year-old daughter pointed to the edge of the hearthstone and said, "When the sunbeams strike there [they came through a crack in the door], we have to start for school; each day they come a little farther over this way." Shadows were not used in telling time.

On cloudy or rainy days time is not accurately known, but is merely guessed. The day we departed from Cofiaripe was a cloudy one, and the boy who was to take our luggage by oxcart to a boat had to be sent for. He apoligized. "We did not think it was time to leave; it is so cloudy that the sun does not show even faintly." The day of departure from Alepúe was a rainy one, and the man who was accompanying us arrived 15 minutes before the time set for leaving. "With no sun shining, I could not tell the time; but I shall wait here for you," he remarked.

Hunger indicates an approximate time. The first meal of the day is customarily eaten as soon after rising as it can be prepared; others, when hunger indicates it; usually a second one is eaten late in the afternoon.

Divisions of the day are dawn; sunrise; forenoon, or not yet noon; noon, or sun is at the zenith, or the day is half gone; afternoon, or the day is passing, or the time between two lights; sunset; and dusk. Names for the divisions differ from area to area, as shown in table 2. (See table 8 for Argentine Araucanian names for divisions of the day.)

"In winter," said an informant, "we use the above words also, but the time between the parts of the day is shorter, since the days are shorter." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 754) the 24-hour day was divided into 10 or 12 parts. According to Moesbach there are about 15 divisions (1936, pp. 82-84).

The night is called pun (darkness); the moon at zenith, rapipun (the night divided). "A man may wake up and notice whether the night has passed ranipun. Or a child may take sick, and its mother say, 'That child took sick after ranipun.'" In general, with reference to time of night the moon has little significance.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

805 Days were not grouped into weeks. Even today, weekdays are seldom kept count of. Informants would ask, "What day of the week is today?" or "Is tomorrow Thursday? In San José they want fish on Thursday." When interviewed on Monday and asked to be interviewed on Wednesday, an informant would say, "Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday—that will be the day after tomorrow; I shall be here."

A division of time from new moon to new moon was known as

TABLE 2.—*Divisions of the day and variations in the names of them (Chile)*

Divisions of day	Araucanian name	Area	As given by Félix José (1916)
Dawn	wintxi	Alepúe	wiñ (vol. 2, p. 22)
Sunrise	chipanantü or malewantü	Alepúe	wiñ'n (vol. 1, p. 26)
	pruapanantü	Pangipulli	
Forenoon, or not yet noon	pulwen	Alepúe	llwen (vol. 2, p. 233)
	liwen	Boroa	
Noon, or sun is at zenith, or one-half day is past	rupüantü	All	
Afternoon, or day is passing	rupañantü	Alepúe	putrañaya, time between two lights (vol. 1, p. 190)
	putrulli	Boroa	
Sunset	kocoantü (purple day)	Pangipulli and Boroa	
	ammantü (just a little sun)	Alepúe	
Dusk	pusiantü or prupiantü	Pangipulli	trañaya (vol. 2, p. 29)

küyen—a word also used when speaking of the moon. Moons were noticed as they passed. "We say, 'A new moon has begun' as you say 'A new month has begun.'" But moons were seldom kept count of except by women who did so during the months of pregnancy to know the approximate time of delivery.

A new moon begins "when the moon looks like a thin sickle." Some one will see it and say, "Llelküyen" (a new moon is born). Full moon is spoken of as a halfway moon (rupüküyen). It is called pillénküyen in Alepúe area; trunkurüküyen in Collaripe area; ponküyen or pürkuyen according to Félix José (1916, vol. 2, p. 221). The moon

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

at last quarter is called rupanküyen (the moon is withdrawing itself) 805 ●
in Alepúe area and pishaiküyen in Coñaripe area.

Informants were not able to give names formerly applied to the span of time known as küyen; in fact, only one informant, a 42-year-old Alepúe area man, recalled ever hearing them spoken of; he could recall no names, however. A 76-year-old Coñaripe man said: "As the new moons were born, one after the other, we said—and still say—'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' 'Another moon has begun,' and so on but we had no names for them." He expressed surprise at hearing that Araucanian names for them had been recorded by a traveler in 1861 (Treutler, 1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The informant, assisted by a 52-year-old man, translated the names as follows:

TABLE 3.—*Names of months according to Treutler (1861, vol. 1, p. 67), with translations by two Coñaripe men (Chile, 1946)*

Months	Araucanian names	Meanings
January	avum-cujen	moon of produce: seeds, fruits, fish, flesh
February	cogi-cujen	moon for harvesting
March	glor-cujen	moon for harvesting maize
April	rimu-cujen	moon for rümü (*Ozalis lobata*)
May	inan-rimu-cujen	moon that follows rümü
June	thor-cujen	moon of the foam (foam pertaining to water)
July	inathor-cujen	moon following the foam
August	huin-cujen	moon of the quakes
September	pillel-cujen	moon wishing for things: for spring to come
October	heuel-cujen	moon of producing something to grow
November	inan-hueul-cujen	moon following the one where producing begins
December	huevun-cujen	moon of new fruit

Treutler wrote (vol. 1, pp. 66-67): "The months they call in general moons, and there is nothing more common than to hear them say that they will do something or set an appointment in this or that moon." Félix José does not give names of months, or of küyen.

Seasons were taken notice of as they passed. Depending on the informant spoken to, there were two, four, five, or seven seasons. Names of seasons were recalled with difficulty. After some discussion, in which there was much disagreement, six Alepúe area men decided the following could be recorded as correct: "There are five seasons. The first season is pichi pepun [little to see]; it is the small spring. Then comes wün'n tripantu [beginning of the year]." The informant explained: "The year begins when the male swallows return and when many birds begin to pipe their songs. It is at that time, too, that three stars that lie in a row [Orion] appear; we call these stars willi wüfchitun or willi lloftun; the Chileans call them Tres Marías. Willi

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

●805 means south; wŭfchitun and lloftun mean to lie in ambush. Later these stars tell us that fall is here. Then comes pukan (summer). Next comes kon'a pukem, which means about to enter winter. It introduces winter. And last of all comes pukem (winter)."

Two Maiquillahue women (Alepúe area also), 80 and 60 years of age, agreed that spring was called wün'n tripántu and winter pukem, but that summer should be called aytüñen, and fall peuyén. Other informants had heard of only two seasons, spring and fall: "After all there is one time in the year when seeds are sown and one time when the new ones are gathered. After the planting everything grows, and after the harvest the rains soak the earth for new planting."

Treutler recorded the words peuggen for spring, ucan for summer, gualug for fall, and puchem for winter (1861, vol. 1, p. 67). The following are according to Félix José (1916): Spring may be designated in four ways: wé tripantu (new year), wün'n tripantu (beginning of year), ellaka tripantu (the time of the year when days become longer), and pewüñen (the time of buds) (vol. 1, p. 40; vol. 2, p. 301). Summer may be antütripantu or antüñen (the time in which one feels keenly the heat of the sun) (vol. 2, p. 403). Walun is the period of the year in which fruit ripens; it may also be called walaŋman (about to harvest, or soon to have that which is eaten) (vol. 1, p. 244; vol. 2, p. 403). Fall is called both chomün (the drying and falling of flowers and leaves) and chomüñen (vol. 1, p. 25; vol. 2, p. 267). Winter is pukem or pukemŋen (vol. 1, p. 188).

Equinoxes are taken notice of. "We know that planting time is near when the days begin to be longer than the nights. There is also a time after the harvest when nights begin to be longer than days, and we know that from then on we shall see the sun less often, and the weather will soon be more disagreeable."

There was no conventional way of keeping count of years. An important or unusual event was generally kept in mind and years reckoned from there on. Quoting a Panguipulli teacher: "I have often heard adults and children tell of an event as having happened before or after one of the earthquakes—there have been several severe and frightening earthquakes in this area in recent years."

Adults seldom knew their ages. One old woman gave as her age: "I am so old that I remember the days when there was no bridge over this river [Río Imperial in San José de Mariquina]." "I really do not know how old I am," said a man; "my oldest son says he is now 36." Since baptism and marriage certificates are often given to adults, the date of birth, as nearly as the officiating person could discover it, can be found on them. Not infrequent answers of adults

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

are: "I do not know exactly how old I am. I lost the paper that told it." Or "I calculate I am about 60 years old. If you could see the baptismal record at the mission, you could see our ages—mine and my husbands. I had our certificates in a box in which I kept everything valuable. But someone stole the box." A Coñaripe woman answered regarding her own age, "Who knows? Who cares to know? This grandchild here is 3 years 3 months old." She had not heard of any one marking the age of a child on the horn of an animal, an Araucanian custom.

805

[17]

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

Weather is either favorable or unfavorable, depending on the need at the time; either kind may therefore be rainy or sunny or dry. Rain is favorable before seeding time and occasionally during growing time, "but most certainly not during harvesting and threshing time; then dry sunny weather is favorable." Favorable weather is spoken of as kümewenumpi (everything looks well above, or everything looks well in the sky); unfavorable weather, as mukümewenumpi.

821

The manner of forecasting weather is different for all areas, if it is attempted at all. In Alepúe area (Pacific coast), a rain can be forecast a day or two in advance when Isla Mocha in the Pacific can be clearly seen; also, when a "wall of clouds"—in appearance like a bank of fog—is seen slowly moving in over the Pacific from the western horizon; or when winds blow from the south-southwest; or when pidell, a bird that lives in the swamps, sends out his call; or after intense heat; and when many flies are around. A red sky at the horizon on the Pacific, following a rain, "tells that the rain is over." In Panguipulli area not even the oldest informant knew how to forecast weather.

[18]

In one of the valleys in Coñaripe area (in the Andes), a clear sky after a rain forecasts fair weather for the following day; so do clouds passing northward. "But when the wind howls on the ridges of the Cordillera and in the valley up there, it usually rains down here in our valley for the next few days; the wind howled up there this morning, but not too loud. There will be no sun today, however; and it is difficult to say whether or not there will be any tomorrow." Rain can also be expected the day following a starlit night, "one in which there are many stars, so many that they seem close together." In another valley in Coñaripe area, clouds moving from the north forecast rain; from the south, sunny weather. "Usually here," said the informant, "the weather at the change of the moon continues until the next change of the moon. For example, if we have rainy weather at

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

MEASUREMENTS OF TIME

Time of day today is generally told as formerly: On sunny days, in the open, it is reckoned quite accurately by the position of the sun; not so accurately by the length of shadows cast by stationary objects, such as houses or trees. "If shadows are short, it must be nearly midday." Indoors, time is told by the location of sunrays as they shine through crevices and fall upon designated fixed places, such as a stone at the fireplace or the foot of a sapling in the framework of the house. Allowance was made for the shifting of the sunbeams as the seasons progressed, "but the sunrays are always either on the rock or to the right or the left of it." A 90-year-old woman knew where sunbeams could be expected to be when the time of day was halfway between sunrise and noon, at noon, and halfway between noon and sunset.

Kolopan noted that the only time of day that can be accurately told is midday, since the sun is then at zenith. He then said that an Austrian Tyrolese had taught him to tell time by noticing the location of the shadow of his long finger in the palm of his hand when he folded the finger across the palm. "If the shadow of my finger falls directly below the finger, it is midday; if the end of the shadow falls on this crease in my palm, it is between 3 and 6 o'clock in the evening. This is not an old Araucanian custom."

When there is no sun, time is merely guessed at. A 70-year-old woman hurried her four grandsons off to school, during an interview on a rainy day, when she learned it was 11 a.m.; they had been sitting by, listening in. "When the sun does not shine, we do not know the time of day," commented the grandmother. "On such days our children are sometimes late for school and sometimes too early." Time for meals was told by hunger.

Kolopan and a man in his seventies named the parts of the day, but they agreed on one word only, namely, *tue* midday: both called it *rupi antü*. Kolopan divided the day as shown in table 8. The man in his seventies divided the day into *ule* (morning), *rupi antü* (midday), *rupa antü* (sun is passing), and *epe lam antü* (evening). Both agreed that the time of night (*aliqtun*) is told by the position of two constellations, the guanaco (*Tuin*) and the rhea (*ñandu*). (See table 9 for Chilean Araucanian names of divisions of the day.)

Days were not named; nor were they grouped into weeks. If count had to be kept of days, a knot was tied into a thong or string "each day when we got up in the morning." A period of several weeks' time was reckoned by the moon. A worker, for example, who hired out at harvest time took notice of the shape of the moon on the day

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians/SG4
Argentina

●805 on which he began work: "When the moon again had the same shape, he knew he had worked a küyen (lunar month)." The informant added with a chuckle, "The man did not always remember the exact shape in which the moon was when he started work, and so, without wanting to do so, he sometimes worked a few extra days to the benefit of the man who hired him."

A person's age was not kept count of but was associated with events as the years passed. "When that happened, I was already old enough to remember." "My voice had already changed when Lake Lacar rose so high that much of the area around here was flooded. I remember policemen on horseback, at the time, riding around to see where there were people that needed help." Today old people laugh when

TABLE 5.—*Divisions of the day, according to Koluyan (Argentina)*

Division of the day	Araucanian name
"Before the coming of the sun, just at the end of the night"	domüñ antü
"When more and more light is added" (dawn and sunrise)	wiñ yelü
"The morning"	Ñowa
"Before midday, about 10 in the morning on the clock today"	domüñ rayi antü
"When the sun is overhead" (midday)	rayi antü
"A little after midday, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the Argentine way"	kelün antü
"The sun is departing, that is about 5 o'clock on the clock"	ñelwa antü
"The sun is disappearing"	domüñ kuxiwe antü
"The sun has disappeared"	kuxiwe antü
"The light that lingers after sunset"	yüpün
"It is getting dark"	domüñ

admit their age. One answered, "How can anyone know that?" Another answered, "Who cares about that?" and then promptly sent a grandchild into her house to get her Libreta Cívica (identification card recently acquired granting eligible women the right to vote in federal elections). "Here is my age; find it on this; an officer told me he wrote it down on this." Officials granting the Libreta Cívica (Libreta Enrolamiento, to men), finding it impossible to ascertain the ages of most older Araucanians, make guesses and record them.

Seasons were designated as wëtripantu (or, according to Koluyan, chemaf tripantu, "the trees begin to leaf"); walun (much sun, "the time the fruit ripens best"); trafquiun (or, according to Koluyan, afu tun, "fruit has ripened"); pukem (rain and snow).

PREDICTION OF WEATHER

921 Weather forecasts were, and still are, accurate, in general, only in a particular area: in the foothills or in the higher altitudes of the